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Introduction

History contains no mention of Kashmiri ever having been used as the language of administration in Kashmir. The surviving written records are in Sanskrit up until Mughal times (beginning with the conquest of Kashmir by Akbar in 1589 A.D.), when Persian became the court language. It maintained this role well into the Twentieth Century, as testified by Sir Jivanji Jamshed Modi (quoted by Dr. Sufi) in 1917 :

> ... up to a few years ago, Persian was the court language of the Darbar of Kashmir. Even during my second visit (June-July 1915) I had occasion to talk in Persian with a large number of people there. Even the Hindu Pandits spoke Persian.... At one time, there was, as it were, two parties in Kashmir; one was that of the Persian-knowing Pandits and the other was that of the Sanskrit-knowing Pandits... Persian, however, was replaced later by Urdu as

the official language, not without a protest from Muslims and several Kashmiri Pandits.[1]

Sufi adds that the replacement of Persian by Urdu meant economic ruin of several indigenous families, since it opened the door to Punjabi Hindus, who then received official employment in large numbers.[2]

Urdu has continued to serve as the administrative language of Kashmir; the existing policy was simply ratified in 1947, as Urdu functioned as the link language in the multi-lingual state. There has been no attempt to introduce Kashmiri as an administrative language in any branch of government; although it has sometimes been taught as an optional subject at various levels in the schools; and has recently been introduced as a subject in the university.

Kashmiri is classified as a Dardic language. This family is a subgroup of the Indo-Aryan family, and is described by Morgenstierne as a group of "IA hill-languages, which in their relative isolation, accentuated in many cases by the invasion of Pathan tribes, have been in varying degrees sheltered against the expanding influences of IA Midland (Madhyadesha) innovation, being left free to develop on their own".[3] The language most closely related to Kashmiri is Shina, which is spoken to the north, west and east of the Valley.

The following are usually classified as dialects of Kashmiri :

1. Siraji and Rambani, which share features with Kashmiri, as well as with Dogri and Pahari;
2. Poguli;
3. Kashtawari.

All of them are spoken to the south and southeast of the Valley proper. Recent research has grouped Kashtawari and Poguli as true dialects of Kashmiri. Siraji shows some convergence with Kashmiri, but as a whole it does not pattern along the lines of Kashmiri, and is possibly a creole.

1. Al Haji Dr. G.M.D. Sufi, *Kashir*. A History of Kashmir. Reprinted New Delhi : Light and Life Publishers, 1974 (2 Vols.), pp. 812-813.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 813.
3. Morgenstierne, Georg 1961, Dardic and Kafir languages. *The Encyclopedia of Islam* New Edition, Vol. 2, Fasc. 25. Leiden : E.J. Brill. p. 138.

Kashmiri also possesses two social and three regional dialects. Grierson (1919) was the first scholar to call attention to the existence of social dialects in Kashmiri. He termed them "Hindu Kashmiri" and "Muslim Kashmiri". These social dialects, which have been identified by Kachru (1969) as Sanskritized Kashmiri and Persianized Kashmiri[4] show variations in vocabulary along with associated phonological differences; there are also some grammatical variations.

The Kashmir Valley is ethnosemantically divided into three regions : (1) mara:z (the southern and southeastern portion), (2) kamara:z (northern and northeastern portion), (3) Srinagar and its vicinity. These dialects show some phonological, morphological and lexical differences. The Srinagar dialect enjoys the prestige of being the standard one, and is used in mass media and in literature.

The first serious socio-linguistic research in Kashmiri was not conducted until very recently, by M.K. Koul. In his dissertation, *A Sociolinguistic Investigation in Srinagar and Anantnag*,[5] he correlates linguistic diversities and social stratification of the Kashmiri speech community in these two districts. A great deal still remains to be done in determining both the social and regional parameters of Kashmiri. Equally important, in our view, however, are the *functional* parameters of Kashmiri speech. As pointed out above, the languages of administration and public affairs in Kashmir has throughout recorded history been ones which are not indigenous to the area—Sanskrit, Persian, and Urdu—a situation which has few parallels in history. Despite this fact, the Kashmiri language has shown a remarkable viability, and is the only language in the Dardic family to have established itself as a literary language. We therefore felt that it would be useful, both from a linguistic perspective as well as from the standpoint of language planning, to ascertain the socio-linguistic functions—language use and language preference of Kashmiri.

4. Kachru, Braj B. 1969. *A reference grammar of Kashmiri*. Urbana; University of Illinois (Mimeo).

5. Koul, Maharaj Krishen 1982. *A Sociolinguistic Investigation in Srinagar and Anantnag*. Doctoral Dissertation, Kurukshetra University (unpublished).

Language use and language preferences are important subfields of sociolinguistics. In field research, language use can sometimes be directly observed, as for example in the schools, the media, the market place, or in street signs. Information about use in other types of situations, such as personal correspondence, domestic conversations, mental arithmetic or dreams, must be elicited.

The survey reported on here was designed as a small-scale enquiry using a questionnaire containing 25 items. The questionnaire was designed in Patiala by both authors, but administered by only one (O.N. Koul). 201 respondents, in Srinagar, Anantnag, Pulwama and Baramula Districts were sampled. The sample was restricted to mother-tongue speakers of Kashmiri, and an effort was made to balance respondents of different ages, religions, sexes, professions and educational status. The items in the questionnaire focussed on two issues : (1) language use, and (2) language preference.

The questionnaire proved to be largely self-explanatory for educated respondents, though some clarification of individual items was needed (what is the difference between understanding a language "quite well" and understanding it "a little"?). Educated respondents completed the questionnaire themselves, and the investigator completed it for uneducated ones.

The data was tabulated and analyzed by both authors.

We would like to thank Ms. Madhubala and Mr. Roshan Lal Koul for their assistance in tabulating the data. We would like to thank Joginder Sharma and Ms. Ishar Kaur for typing the manuscript.

In Srinagar, numerous individuals cooperated with the investigator and did much to facilitate prompt completion of the survey. We particularly wish to thank Professor A. Rahman Rahi of the Kashmiri Department, University of Kashmir, for contributing his ideas and suggestions as well as practical assistance.

Finally, we are grateful to those most important people : 201 respondents who patiently completed the questionnaires.

Omkar N. Koul
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2

The Sample

2.1 Age, Sex and Religion

There are 201 respondents in the sample : 116 males and 85 females. The breakdown of the sample by age group and religion is shown in Table 1. As may be seen the largest number of respondents was in the youngest age group A1 (age 18-34) : 128. This is the age group which has been exposed only to the current language policy throughout the life spans of its members, and so has greater importance for this survey, inasmuch as its attitudes may be considered as shaped by the policy. The next largest number of respondents falls in the A2 age group (35-50) : 45. There are 28 respondents in the A3 age group (51 and above). All these respondents are native speakers of Kashmiri. There are 107 Muslims (60 males and 47 females) and 94 Hindus (56 males and 38 females) in the sample.

TABLE 1

Age Group	MM	MF	HM	HF	Total
A1 (18-34)	39	41	20	28	128
A2 (35-50)	13	4	24	4	45
A3 (51 and Abc	8	2	12	6	28
Total	60	47	56	38	201

MM = Muslim Males
MF = Muslim Females
HM = Hindu Males
HF = Hindu Females

2.2 Level of Education

The sample as a whole was well educated. Out of 201 respondents, 166 held higher secondary and higher degrees including 93 graduates and 50 post-graduates. There were 24 illiterates and 11 with primary and middle standard education. A comparison of uneducated or poorly educated speakers with well educated ones does not show any striking difference in attitudes toward language use. There are also no striking differences between Muslims and Hindus so far as the variable of education is concerned. Literacy rates, as may be seen in Table 2 were highest among the youngest age group (A1). (Table 2)

2.3 Occupation

Occupationally students are the largest number represented in the sample. They comprise about 49% of the total respondents. Students belonged to college and university level. There were about 21% teachers of schools, colleges and the university. Among the remaining respondents, about 11% were cultivators, about 6% businessmen, about 4% office goers and about 9% belonged to the miscellaneous category (including housewives and unemployed persons). Compared to members of other occupations, students and teachers of various levels appeared to be more concerned and showed great interest in responding

TABLE 2

	1 Illiterate	2 Primary	3 Middle	4 Hr. Sec.	5 Graduate	6 Post Graduate
MM	%	%	%	%	%	%
A 1	2.57	—	—	7.69	51.28	38.46
A 2	30.77	15.38	—	15.38	7.70	30.77
A 3	37.50	25.00	12.50	12.50	—	12.50
MF						
A 1	4.88	—	—	—	87.80	7.32
A 2	100.00	—	—	—	—	—
A 3	100.00	—	—	—	—	—
HM						
A 1	—	—	—	10.00	65.00	25.00
A 2	—	—	4.17	20.83	4.17	70.83
A 3	—	8.33	33.33	33.33	8.33	16.68
HF						
A 1	—	—	—	14.29	75.00	10.71
A 2	75.00	—	—	25.00	—	—
A 3	83.33	—	—	16.67	—	—
Total	11.94	2.49	2.98	11.44	46.27	24.88

to each question of the questionnaire. Most of the creative writers, artists, and intellectuals were either teachers or belonged to the category of office-goers, and also appeared seriously involved in their response to the questions. Respondents belonging to the business professions did not appear to be as enthusiastic or concerned as the respondents belonging to other categories. It required a certain amount of coaxing to elicit their actual opinions and attitudes. The following presents the

breakdown of the respondents according to age group, religion and occupation.

TABLE 3

	Students	Teachers	Cultiva-tors	Office-goers	Business-men	Others
MM						
A 1	71.88	15.30	—	7.69	5.13	—
A 2	—	45.15	38.46	—	—	15.39
A 3	—	25.00	50.00	—	25.00	—
MF						
A 1	82.90	7.32	4.88	—	—	4.88
A 2	—	—	100.00	—	—	—
A 3	—	—	100.00	—	—	—
HM						
A 1	70.00	10.00	—	—	5.00	15.00
A 2	—	70.83	—	20.83	8.34	--
A 3	—	8.33	33.33	—	41.67	16.67
HF						
A 1	78.57	14.29	—	3.57	—	3.57
A 2	—	25.00	25.00	—	—	50.00
A 3	—	—	16.67	—	—	83.33
Total	48.76	20.89	11.44	4.4	5.97	8.46

The sample of respondents represent three different age groups (A1, A2 and A3); two religious communities (Muslims and Hindus); both sexes (males and females); different educational levels (primary, middle, high, graduate and post-graduates), as well as some illiterates; different occupations

(students, teachers, office-goers, businessmen and others). Socio-economic status of respondents was not taken as a separate variable. Most respondents belonged to lower and upper middle class families. This class being the largest in number, represents overall public opinion and attitudes. As far as answers to most of the questions in the questionnaire are concerned, the respondent's religion does not seem to be an influencing factor; so it has not therefore been collated separately in the analysis.

3

Knowledge of Languages

3.1 Kashmiri

All the respondents in the sample reported Kashmiri as their mother tongue. A comparison of table 2 and tables 4 and 5 reveals an important correlation : literacy means bilingualism. Persons who are literate in Kashmiri are generally literate in Urdu also. This is a direct result of the teaching of Urdu as a subject and its use as a medium of instruction in the primary schools. Bi-and tri-lingualism is fairly common among Kashmiri speakers, as reflected in the survey results. In some schools Kashmiri is taught only as an optional subject, whereas Urdu a compulsory school subject at the primary level of schooling. English is taught from the sixth standard onwards in government schools. In some schools it is introduced earlier, as a subject. As Kashmiri is the mother tongue of all the respondents, all the respondents reported understanding and speaking the language. About 88% of them can read and write it.

The rate of illiteracy appear to be higher in the case of females of A2 and A3 age-groups. Only about 12% of them reported their ability to read and write.

TABLE 4

	Understand	Speak	Read	Write
Males				
A1	100.00	100.00	98.30	98.30
A2	100.00	100.00	89.10	89.10
A3	100.00	100.00	85.00	85.00
Females				
A1	100.00	100.00	97.10	97.10
A2	100.00	100.00	12.50	12.50
A3	100.00	100.00	12.50	12.00
Males and Females				
A1	100.00	100.00	97.66	97.66
A2	100.00	100.00	75.55	75.55
A3	100.00	100.00	64.28	64.28
Total	100.00	100.00	88.05	88.05

3.2 Urdu

Urdu has been assigned all the prominent roles in the State of Jammu and Kashmir. As an official language of the State, it is used in administration, education and mass media. It is taught as a subject in all government schools at the primary level. About 80% of total respondents have reported that they understand, speak, read and write Urdu. The largest percentage of Urdu knowing respondents belongs to A1 (males) group, where about 96% respondents reported that they control

all the basic skills of Urdu. The percentage of Urdu knowing respondents in female A2 and A3 group is as low as 12.5%.

TABLE 5

	Understand	Speak	Read	Write
Males				
A1	96.61	96.61	96.61	96.61
A2	89.18	89.18	89.18	89.18
A3	85.00	85.00	85.00	85.00
Females				
A1	75.36	75.37	75.36	75.36
A2	12.50	12.50	12.50	12.50
A3	12.50	12.50	12.50	12.50
Males and Females				
A1	85.16	85.16	85.16	85.16
A2	75.55	75.55	75.55	75.55
A3	64.28	64.28	64.28	64. 8
Total	80.09	80.09	80.09	80.09

3.3 English

Like Urdu, English has also gained a prominent place in the State of Jammu and Kashmir. English is a compulsory subject in the schools after the fifth year of schooling up to the high or higher secondary school. English has a prominent place as the medium of instruction in higher education (colleges and university). A total number of about 84% respondents have reported that they understand, speak, read and write English. Whereas about 96% of the respondents of A1 group reported knowledge of the four basic skills of English only about 46% of respondents in the A3 group know this language. Reporting of the knowledge of the basic skills of

English doesnot actually reveal a respondent's level of competence in the use of these language skills. Though the respondents could indicate level of their control of each skill choosing between the responses, 'a little' or 'quite well', their responses have not proven accurate. 'Knowing' a language is actually indicated by the respondent's reported ability to understand it. Most respondents who reported understanding a language, also reported speaking, reading and writing it 'quite well'. Few respondents reported knowing 'a little' of a language. The respondents either reported knowing it well, or not at all. Thus the category 'a little' in Tables 5, 6 and 7 has been for practical purposes deleted. The respondents' levels of competence are not therefore indicated in the data.

TABLE 6

	Understand	Speak	Read	Write
Males				
A1	98.30	98.30	98.30	98.30
A2	81.08	81.08	81.08	81.08
A3	60.00	60.00	60.00	60.00
Females				
A1	97.10	97.10	97.10	97.10
A2	12.50	12.50	12.50	12.50
A3	12.50	12.50	12.50	12.50
Males and Females				
A1	96.09	96.09	96.09	96.09
A2	68.88	68.88	68.88	68.88
A3	46.42	46.42	46.42	46.42
Total	84.07	84.07	84.07	84.07

3.4 Hindi

Hindi was reported as the fourth prominent language by the respondents. Linguistically Urdu and Hindi are not considered different languages. They can be best termed as two literary styles of the same language-one of them employing the Perso-Arabic script and the other the Devanagri script. Literary Urdu has borrowed vocabulary and some grammatical features of Persian (and Arabic), but Hindi has borrowed them from Sanskrit. Since almost all literate Kashmiris reported knowing Urdu, the script of which is the same as that of Kashmiri; those respondents who can read and write Hindi in the Devanagri script have included Hindi as another major language they know besides Kashmiri, Urdu and English. A respondent reporting a knowledge of Hindi, besides Urdu, is therefore a person who says he controls the Devanagri script and associated Hindi vocabulary. A total number of about 44% respondents have reported a knowledge of Hindi. Here again only few reported knowledge of any of its skills as 'a little'. This category has therefore been deleted from the Table.

TABLE 7

	Understand	Speak	Read	Write
Males				
A1	32.20	32.20	32.20	32.20
A2	6.56	6.56	6.56	6.56
A3	50.00	50.00	50.00	50.00
Females				
A1	47.82	47.82	47.82	47.82
A2	12.50	12.50	12.50	12.50
A3	12.50	12.50	12.50	12.50
Males and Females				
A1	40.62	40.62	40.62	40.62
A2	57.77	57.77	57.77	57.77
A3	39.28	39.28	39.28	39.28
Total	44.27	44.27	44.27	44.27

Besides the above four major languages, only a few respondents mentioned Persian, Arabic or Sanskrit as additional languages and mostly indicated only a knowledge of reading and writing skills. The data regarding these languages was not collated.

As mentioned above, literacy among Kashmiris actually results in bilingualism. Kashmiri and Urdu share the same Perso-Arabic Script. This script has been adapted for Kashmiri by using additional diacritical marks and symbols to represent the characteristic sounds of Kashmiri. Although Kashmiri is now written mostly in this script, other scripts, especially Devanagri and Roman are also used for specific purposes. The original script of Kashmiri (Sharda) has become obsolete now. It is used only for writing horoscopes by a handful of Kashmiri Brahmins.

4

Language Use

The respondents were asked to identify the language they mostly use in a variety of situations. The situations chosen in the questionnaire were the most common ones which every individual in a society encounters in day to day life. These situations were (a) talking to ones parents/elders (b) talking to one's spouse (c) talking to one's friends (d) talking to one's children or younger relatives (e) in the local market place, (f) in one's place of work or study, (g) writing a letter to one's nearest relative (h) writing a letter to one's intimate friend (i) writing a letter in the course of one's work or in connection with one's studies, (j) doing mental arithmetic or calculations, (k) discussing a problem at one's place of work or study, (l) while saying one's prayers, (m) in a meeting at one's place of work, (n) while dreaming, and (o) while thinking about routine problems. All the situations listed above are very common ones and are sufficient to demonstrate actual use of language by the respondents.

A few respondents reported a second choice of their use of languages in various situations. We have, however, taken their first choice which happens also to be the dominant one used by the majority of speakers. We will discuss the results of the survey as per each situation separately.

4.1 Talking to one's parents/elders

99% of the respondents reported that they use only Kashmiri in talking with their parents or elders. Only two female respondents of group A1 have resported Urdu and Hindi in this situation. These two respondents have placed Kashmiri in the second position.

TABLE 8

	Kashmiri	Urdu	Hindi
Males			
A1	100.00	—	—
A2	100.00	—	—
A3	100.00	—	—
Females			
A1	97.10	1.45	1.45
A2	100.00	—	—
A3	100.00	—	—
Males and Females			
A1	98.44	0.78	0.78
A2	100.00	—	—
A3	100.00	—	—
Total	99.00	0.50	0.50

4.2 Talking to one's spouse

About 91% of the respondents reported that they use Kashmiri in talking to their spouses; about 5% use Urdu; 2%

use Hindi, and 2% English. It is usually considered natural to use one's mother tongue in talking with one's spouse. One may use a second language (in this case Urdu, Hindi or English) in certain formal situations; it is interesting to note that 11% to 12% of the A1 group males and females reported talking to their spouses in a non-native language i.e. Urdu. Similarly, 5% of the respondents of group A3 have reported using English.

TABLE 9

	Kashmiri	Urdu	Hindi	English
Males				
A1	89.11	10.81	—	—
A2	100.00	—	—	—
A3	85.00	5.00	5.00	5.00
Females				
A1	76.48	11.76	5.88	5.88
A2	100.00	—	—	—
A3	100.00	—	—	—
Males and Females				
A1	84.19	11.11	1.85	1.85
A2	100.00	—	—	—
A3	89.29	3.57	3.57	3.57
Total	91.34	4.72	1.57	1.57

4.3 Talking to one's friends

About 73% of the respondents have reported using their mother tongue, i.e. Kashmiri, in talking with their friends. 13% use Urdu, 10% English and 4% Hindi. A good percentage of females of A1 age group tend to use Urdu and English in this situation; about 31% use Urdu-Hindi and 20% English. The

preference for the use of Urdu and English may be due to the fact that the sample included a fair number of female students of the Urdu and English Departments of the University. It is natural for the students to be enthusiastic about using the language they are studying.

TABLE 10

	Kashmiri	Urdu	Hindi	English
Males				
A1	91.23	8.77	—	—
A2	100.00	—	—	—
A3	85.00	—	10.00	5.0
Females				
A1	49.27	24.64	5.80	20.29
A2	100.00	—	—	—
A3	100.00	—	—	—
Males and Females				
A1	60.16	20.31	3.90	15.63
A2	100.00	—	—	—
A3	89.29	—	7.14	3.57
Total	73.13	12.94	3.48	10.45

4.4 Talking to one's children/younger relatives

A total number of about 82% of respondents reported using their mother tongue i.e. Kashmiri in talking to their children or younger relatives; 10% reported using Urdu, 7% Hindi and 1% English. It is interesting however to note that about 54% females of A1 age group report using Kashmiri, and 22% and 17% Urdu and Hindi respectively.

TABLE 11

	Kashmiri	Urdu	Hindi	English
Males				
A1	91.21	8.79	—	—
A2	100.00	—	—	—
A3	90.00	—	5.00	5.00
Females				
A1	55.42	23.74	19.39	1.45
A2	100.00	—	—	—
A3	100.00	—	—	—
Males and Females				
A1	72.95	16.39	9.84	0.82
A2	100.00	—	—	—
A3	92.86	—	3.57	3.57
Total	82.05	10.25	6.67	1.03

4.5 Language used in local market place

In transactions in the market place, Kashmiri is used predominantly by all age groups (Table 12). This reflects local realities: most shopkeepers are Kashmiris, and such items as groceries and other staples have Kashmiri names which are more familiar than the Urdu-Hindi or English equivalents. A total number of about 91% of respondents reported the use of Kashmiri and the remaining Urdu, Hindi and English. It is actually only with a non-Kashmiri shopkeeper that Urdu, Hindi and English are used. There are some such shopkeepers in the city and other towns in the valley.

TABLE 12

	Kashmiri	Urdu	Hindi	English
Males				
A1	94.91	3.39	1.70	—
A2	89.18	—	5.41	5.41
A3	90.00	5.00	5.00	—
Females				
A1	86.96	8.69	4.35	—
A2	100.00	—	—	—
A3	100.00	—	—	—
Male and Females				
A1	90.62	6.25	3.13	—
A2	91.12	—	4.44	4.44
A3	92.86	3.57	3.57	—
Total	91.04	4.47	3.48	0.99

4.6 Language used in one's place of work or study

34% of the total number of respondents reported the use of Urdu; 33% of respondents Kashmiri, 30% of respondents English, and 3% Hindi at the place of their work or study. (Table 13)

4.7 Writing a letter to one's nearest relatives

It was in the questions dealing with letter-writing that the most telling contrasts emerged. Only about 10% of all respondents write even to their nearest relatives in Kashmiri. 44% write in Urdu, 39% in English and 7% in Hindi. This reflects the fact already mentioned that literacy means bilingualism. For most of these respondents, it is simply not possible to write a letter in Kashmiri—all of their education has been given to them in other languages. Given their stated preference for

TABLE 13

	Kashmiri	Urdu	Hindi	English
Males				
A1	42.37	42.37	1.69	13.57
A2	64.85	8.11	13.52	13.52
A3	85.00	5.00	5.00	5.00
Females				
A1	71.11	6.67	11.11	11.11
A2	62.50	12.50	12.50	12.50
A3	100.00	—	—	—
Males and Females				
A1	54.80	26.93	5.77	12.50
A2	23.26	39.53	6.98	30.23
A3	25.00	54.16	4.17	16.67
Total	32.97	34.06	3.24	29.73

talking to the same relatives (Tables 8, 9 and 11) in their mother-tongue i.e. Kashmiri. It is clear that the respondents are talking in one language and expressing themselves in another—a situation which might well result in communication barriers. Most of the respondents who reported writing letters to their nearest relatives in Kashmiri are creative writers and critics in Kashmiri, who appear to be emotionally involved in the support of Kashmiri and its development at all levels. (Table 14)

4.8 Writing a letter to one's intimate friend

In this situation, about 12% respondents have reported writing letters in Kashmiri, 38% in Urdu, 41% in English and 9% in Hindi. The percentage of respondents who write in Kashmiri is slightly higher than in the Table 14. (Table 15)

TABLE 14

	Kashmiri	Urdu	Hindi	English
Males				
A1	8.71	49.12	—	42.17
A2	8.33	47.22	8.33	36.12
A3	15.00	65.00	—	20.00
Females				
A1	—	38.46	12.82	48.72
A2	85.71	—	14.29	—
A3	75.00	—	25.00	—
Males and Females				
A1	3.70	42.96	7.42	45.92
A2	20.93	39.53	9.30	30.24
A3	25.00	54.17	4.16	16.67
Total	9.90	43.55	7.45	39.10

TABLE 15

	Kashmiri	Urdu	Hindi	English
Males				
A1	12.28	26.32	—	61.40
A2	11.11	47.22	5.56	36.11
A3	15.00	65.00	—	20.00
Females				
A1	—	41.18	20.59	38.23
A2	85.71	—	14.29	—
A3	75.00	—	25.00	—
Males and Females				
A1	6.60	33.40	11.20	48.80
A2	23.26	39.53	6.98	30.23
A3	25.00	54.17	4.17	16.66
Total	11.98	38.02	9.37	40.63

4.9 Writing a letter in course of one's work or in connection with studies

In this situation also only 9% of the respondents reported writing letters in Kashmiri, 37% write in Urdu, 49% write in English, and 5% in Hindi. Illiterates don't write letters themselves; they express themselves orally in Kashmiri and the letter-writer exercises his judgment of writing in any language for them—the most common being Urdu and English.

TABLE 16

	Kashmiri	Urdu	Hindi	English
Males				
A1	3.51	28.08	1.75	66.66
A2	8.33	33.33	5.55	52.79
A3	15.00	65.00	—	20.00
Females				
A1	1.47	42.65	8.82	47.06
A2	85.71	—	—	14.29
A3	75.00	—	25.00	—
Males and Females				
A1	2.40	36.00	5.60	56.00
A2	20.93	27.90	4.65	46.52
A3	25.00	54.17	4.17	16.66
Total	9.37	36.46	5.21	48.96

4.10 Doing mental arithmetic or calculations

100% of respondents reported doing mental arithmetic in Kashmiri. This is perhaps the mother-tongue function most resistant to change; few bilinguals do mental arithmetic in their second language.

4.11 Discussing problems at one's place of work or study

Most of the respondents (75%) use Kashmiri, 10% use Urdu, 13% English and 2% Hindi while discussing problems at their place of work or study. A fair percentage of younger men in the age group A1 tends to use Urdu (30%) and English (26%). The choice of language in one's place of work and study is in fact determined by context and situation. The subject of discussion or study, as well as official determination of choice of language in communications or medium of instruction, are predominant factors interfering in the choice of a language in discussing work or study related problems.

TABLE 17

	Kashmiri	Urdu	Hindi	English
Males				
A1	43.86	29.82	—	26.32
A2	70.27	2.70	8.11	18.92
A3	94.74	—	—	5.26
Females				
A1	98.55	—	—	1.45
A2	75.00	12.50	—	12.50
Males and Females				
A1	73.81	13.49	—	12.70
A2	71.11	4.44	6.67	17.78
A3	88.89	3.70	—	7.41
Total	75.25	10.10	1.52	13.13

4.12 In a meeting at one's place of work

Most of the respondents (53%) reported using Kashmiri in meetings at their place of work. About 25% use Urdu, 16%

use Engiish and 6% Hindi. Though Kashmiri is not the official language of the State, it is used in conducting official meetings by officials. Problems are discussed in Kashmiri, but the minutes are certainly prepared either in Urdu, Hindi or in English. This situation prevails only when all the participants are native speakers of Kashmiri. In the presence of non-native members other languages are predominantly used.

TABLE 18

	Kashmiri	Urdu	Hindi	English
Males				
A1	59.32	32.20	5.09	3.39
A2	54.05	10.81	10.81	24.33
A3	85.00	5.00	5.00	5.00
Females				
A1	26.09	37.68	5.80	30.43
A2	100.00	—	—	—
A3	100.00	—	—	—
Males and Females				
A1	41.40	35.16	5.47	17.97
A2	62.22	8.59	8.89	20.30
A3	89.29	3.57	3.57	3.57
Total	52.74	24.88	5.97	16.41

4 13 While dreaming

It is interesting to note that the overwhelming majority of the respondents reported dreaming in their mother tongue i.e. Kashmiri. Two respondents of A1 males group reported dreaming in Urdu: and one dreams in English. One female respondent of the same age group reported that she dreams in Hindi.

It appears that one's own mother tongue dominates the world of dreams, even if it is not the only social language.

TABLE 19

	Kashmiri	Urdu	Hindi	English
Males				
A1	94.92	3.39	—	1.69
A2	100.00	—	—	—
A3	100.00	—	—	—
Females				
A1	98.55	—	1.45	—
A2	100.00	—	—	—
A3	100.00	—	—	—
Males and Females				
A1	96.88	1.56	0.78	0.78
A2	100.00	—	—	—
A3	100.00	—	—	—
Total	98.00	1.00	0.50	0.50

4.14 While thinking about routine problems

The mother tongue appears to have a dominant role as the medium of one's thought processes. An overwhelming majority (92%) of the respondents reported using Kashmiri while thinking about routine daily problems. Only about 8% respondents reported using other languages i.e. Urdu, Hindi and English. (Table 20)

Three questions were designed to ascertain the use of Kashmiri and/or other languages for religious functions. These questions addressed the use of language (1) while saying prayers, (2) used in the place of worship and (3) as used in

TABLE 20

	Kashmiri	Urdu	Hindi	English
Males				
A1	86.44	5.08	—	8.48
A2	89.19	—	2.70	8.11
A3	100.00	—	—	—
Females				
A1	94.30	4.35	—	1.45
A2	100.00	—	—	—
A3	100.00	—	—	—
Males and Females				
A1	90.62	4.69	—	4.69
A2	91.11	—	2.22	6.67
A3	100.00	—	—	—
Total	92.03	2.99	0.50	4.48

the marriage ceremony. It has often been suggested that Muslims show a preference for Arabic, and Hindus for Sanskrit, and that these preferences are reflected in use of Urdu (with its persianized vocabulary) and Hindi (with its Sanskritized vocabulary). The results of survey do not support this assumption.

4.15 While saying prayers

In response to the question on the use of language in saying prayers or for seeking blessings, about 86% of respondents reported saying their prayers in Kashmiri. Only 10% reported Hindi (although 47% of the sample consisted of Hindus); and a mere 4% reported Urdu.

TABLE 21

	Kashmiri	Urdu	Hindi
Males			
A1	86.49	2.70	10.81
A2	75.00	—	25.00
A3	94.74	—	6.26
Females			
A1	81.82	9.09	9.09
A2	100.00	—	—
A3	100.00	—	—
Males and Females			
A1	83.69	6.53	9.78
A2	82.14	—	17.86
A3	96.30	—	3.70
Total	85.72	4.08	10.20

4.16 Language used in places of worship

The response to the question about the use of languages in places of worship or in addresses on religious subjects a majority of the respondents (78%) reported Kashmiri as the language used in places of worship. As Arabic and Sanskrit are the ritual languages for Muslims and Hindus respectively, one might have expected greater use of them. About 7% reported Arabic, 4% Sanskrit, 9% Hindi and 2% Urdu as the languages primarily used by them in the places of worship and in religious discourse. (Table 22)

4.17 Languages used in marriage ceremony

In response to the question on the use of language in the marriage ceremony, a majority of the respondents reported the use of Kashmiri in this important ceremony (along with ritual

TABLE 22

	Kashmiri	Urdu	Hindi	Sanskrit	Arabic
Males					
A1	72.88	5.09	6.78	5.08	10.17
A2	70.27	—	16.22	8.11	5.40
A3	80.00	—	5.00	15.00	—
Females					
A1	79.72	—	10.14	—	10.14
A2	100.00	—	—	—	—
A3	100.00	—	—	—	—
Males and Females					
A1	76.57	2.34	8.59	2.34	10.16
A2	75.56	—	13.33	6.67	4.44
A3	85.71	—	3.58	10.71	—
Total	77.61	1.49	8.96	4.48	7.46

TABLE 23

	Kashmiri	Urdu	Hindi	Sanskrit	Arabic
Males					
A1	89.83	1.70	3.39	1.69	3.39
A2	72.97	—	—	18.92	8.11
A3	80.00	—	5.00	15.00	—
Females					
A1	76.81	8.70	1.44	5.80	7.25
A2	100.00	—	—	—	—
A3	100.00	—	—	—	—
Males and Females					
A1	82.81	5 47	2.34	3.91	5.47
A2	77.78	—	—	15.55	6.67
A3	85.71	—	3.57	10.72	—
Total	82.09	3.48	1.99	7.46	4.98

languages). About 82% reported that Kashmiri mainly was used in performing the ceremony. For ritual reasons, Arabic (5%) and Sanskrit (7%) were also reported by Muslims and Hindus respectively. Whereas religious rituals in the ceremony are formulated in the ritual languages all other celebrations and parts thereof (including marriage songs etc.) are performed in Kashmiri. (Table 23)

5

Language in Media

Three questions were aimed at discovering preferences for various languages in the media: newspapers, radio and television.

5.1 Reading of Newspapers

A question was designed to elicit information regarding the reading of newspapers in various languages by the respondents. The information was sought regarding the four languages : Kashmiri, Urdu, Hindi and English. Following are the results of the response obtained for these languages separately.

5.1.1 Kashmiri

No daily newspapers are published in Kashmiri. Some weekly newspapers are published irregularly. Therefore, Kashmiri newspapers are not popular for news value. Only 9%

of the total respondents reported reading them regularly (i.e. whenever they are published). 31% reported reading them occasionally and a large number of respondents (60%) never read them.

TABLE 24

	Regularly	Occasionally	Never
Males			
A1	18.65	42.37	38.98
A2	13.51	37.84	48.65
A3	—	15.00	85.00
Females			
A1	5.80	28.99	65.21
A2	—	—	100.00
A3	—	—	100.00
Males and Females			
A1	11.72	35.16	53.12
A2	11.11	31.11	57.78
A3	—	10.71	89.29
Total	9.15	30.85	60.00

5.1.2 Urdu

Newspapers in Urdu are quite popular. Several daily newspapers are published in Urdu from Srinagar. They mostly cater to the local interests of the population. 49% of the respondents reported reading newspaper in Urdu regularly, 25% read them occasionally, and 26% of the respondents don't read them at all. (Table 25)

5.1.3 Hindi

No Hindi local daily newspapers are published in Kashmir, but a number of Hindi and English newspapers from the

TABLE 25

	Regularly	Occasionally	Never
Males			
A1	66.10	28.81	5.09
A2	62.16	24.33	13.51
A3	20.00	60.00	20.00
Females			
A1	46.38	18.84	34.78
A2	—	—	100.00
A3	—	—	100.00
Males and Females			
A1	55.47	23.44	21.09
A2	51.11	20.00	28.89
A3	14.28	42.86	42.86
Total	48.76	25.37	25.87

TABLE 26

	Regularly	Occasionally	Never
Males			
A1	1.69	13.56	84.75
A2	16.22	40.54	43.24
A3	5.00	35.00	60.00
Female			
A1	2.90	30.43	66.67
A2	—	—	100.00
A4	—	—	100.00
Males and Females			
A1	2.34	22.66	75.00
A2	13.33	33.33	53.34
A3	3.57	25.00	71.43
Total	4.98	25.37	66.95

Punjab and Delhi are sold in the valley. Only 5% of the respondents reported that they read newspapers in Hindi regularly, 25% read them occasionally and 70% do not read them at all. (Table 26)

5.1.4 English

English newspapers appear to be quite popular in the valley. A total number of 56% of informants read newspapers in English regularly, 25% read them occasionally and 18% do not read them at all. English papers are mostly read for their national news value.

TABLE 27

	Regularly	Occasionally	Never
Males			
A1	64.41	28.81	6.78
A2	56.76	27.03	16.21
A3	25.00	20.00	55.00
Females			
A1	71.01	27.54	1.45
A2	—	—	100.00
A3	—	12.50	87.50
Males and Females			
A1	67.97	28.12	3.91
A2	46.67	22.22	31.11
A3	17.86	17.86	64.28
Total	56.22	25.37	18.41

5.2 Listening to Radio Programmes

Radio appears to be the dominant media. Almost all the respondents reported listening to various programmes. Radio programmes were divided into three types : news, songs and

other programmes for both languages—Kashmiri and Urdu-Hindi.

5.2.1 Radio Programmes in Kashmiri

5.2.1.1 News

Regarding programmes broadcast in Kashmiri, news bulletins in Kashmiri are most popular. 80% of the respon dents reported listening to news bulletins in Kashmiri regularly, 19% have reported listening to these bulletins occasionally and only 1% reported never listening to the news in Kashmiri.

TABLE 28

	Regularly	Occasionally	Never
Males			
A1	84.75	15.25	—
A2	91.89	8.11	—
A3	70.00	30.00	—
Females			
A1	86.96	13.04	—
A2	25.00	62.50	12.[illegible]0
A3	12.50	75.00	12.50
Males and Females			
A1	85.94	14.06	—
A2	80.00	17.78	2.22
A3	53.57	42.86	3.57
Total	80.10	18.91	0.99

5.2.1.2 Songs

Songs broadcast in Kashmiri are also popular. A total of 59% of respondents listen to songs regularly, 40% listento them occasionally and 1% do not listen to them at all.

TABLE 29

	Regularly	Occasionally	Never
Males			
A1	59.32	38.98	1.70
A2	81.08	18.92	—
A3	50.00	45.00	5.00
Females			
A1	62.32	37.68	—
A2	—	100.00	—
A3	—	100.00	—
Males and Females			
A1	60.94	38.28	0.78
A2	66.67	33.33	—
A3	35.72	60.71	3.57
Total	58.70	40.30	1.00

TABLE 30

	Regularly	Occasionally	Never
Males			
A1	54.24	44.07	1.69
A2	51.35	48.65	—
A3	30.00	65.00	5.00
Females			
A1	40.58	59.42	—
A2	—	100.00	—
A3	—	87.50	12.50
Males and Females			
A1	46.88	52.34	0.78
A2	42.22	57.78	—
A3	21.43	71.43	7.14
Total	42.29	56.22	1.49

5.2.1.3 Other Programmes

Other programmes such as plays, skits, talks, and regular feature programmes do not appear to be very popular among the respondents. Out of all such miscellaneous programmes, most of the respondents listen only to Kashmiri plays and skits. On the whole, about 42% of the respondents listen to these programmes regularly, 56% occasionally and 1% do not listen at all. (Table 30)

5.2.2 Radio Programmes in Urdu-Hindi

Besides programmes in Kashmiri, programmes broadcast in Urdu-Hindi are also popular. Respondents listen to a variety of programmes broadcast in Urdu-Hindi.

5.2.2.1 News

A large number of respondents (75%) listen to news bulletins in Urdu-Hindi, 14% listen to them occasionally, and 11% of the respondents do not listen to Urdu-Hindi news at all.

TABLE 31

	Regularly	Occasionally	Never
Males			
A1	79.66	20.34	—
A5	81.08	10.81	8.11
A3	60.00	20.00	20.00
Females			
A1	86.96	11.59	1.45
A2	—	12.50	87.50
A3	12.50	—	87.50
Males and Females			
A1	83.59	15.63	0.78
A2	66.67	11.11	22.22
A3	46.43	14.29	39.28
Total	74.63	14.43	10.94

5.2.2.2 Songs

Urdu-Hindi songs are also quite popular. About 65% of total respondents reported that they listen to such songs regularly, about 24% listen to them occasionally and about 11% never listen to them. It is a fact that Urdu-Hindi songs especially film songs, are quite popular and are widely listened to.

TABLE 32

	Regularly	Occasionally	Never
Males			
A1	74.53	25.47	—
A2	70.27	18.92	10.81
A3	35.00	35.00	30.00
Females			
A1	76.81	20.29	2.90
A2	—	37.50	62.50
A3	—	25.00	75.00
Males and Females			
A1	75.78	22.66	1.56
A2	57.78	22.22	20.00
A3	25.00	32.14	42.86
Total	64.68	23.88	11.44

5.2.2.3 Other Programmes

Other programmes broadcast in Urdu-Hindi including plays, feature programmes, talks, are not as popular as news and songs from the listener's point of view in the valley. About 42% of resspondents listen to such programmes regularly, 44% listen to them occasionally and 14% do not listen at all.

TABLE 33

	Regularly	Occasionally	Never
Males			
A1	54.24	44-07	1.69
A2	35.13	51.36	13.51
A3	25.00	45.00	30.00
Females			
A1	50.72	46.38	2.90
A2	—	25.00	75.00
A3	—	12.50	87.50
Males and Femalcs			
A1	52.34	45.32	2.34
A2	28.89	46.67	24.44
A3	17.85	35.72	46.43
Total	42.29	44.28	13.43

5.3 Watching Television Programmes and Films

On the whole television programmes broadcast in any language do not appear to be as popular as radio programmes. This is probably due to the recent introduction of television as a medium in the valley. It has not had time to become popular. Both the quality of programmes and availability of television sets appear to be important factors restricting the choice of this medium as an effective one.

5.3.1 Kashmiri

As far as visual media in Kashmiri are concerned, television appears to be the only choice. Unfortunately only two feature films, good or bad, have been produced in Kashmiri so far. Generally Urdu-Hindi feature films are screened in all the theatres in the valley. There is a wide scope for the development of television programmes in Kashmiri, including television

films and documentary features on various subjects of common interest. In the situation reported by the respondents, 30% of them watch various television programmes (news, songs and other programmes) regularly, 67% watch these programmes occasionally, and 3% never watch them.

TABLE 34

	Regularly	Occasionally	Never
Males			
A1	32.20	67.80	—
A2	21.62	62.16	16.22
A3	5.00	95.00	—
Females			
A1	44.93	55.07	—
A2	12.50	87.50	—
A3	12.50	87.50	—
Males and Females			
A1	39.06	60.04	—
A2	20.00	66.67	13.33
A3	7.14	92.86	—
Total	30.35	66.67	2.98

5.3.2 Urdu

Television programmes in Urdu are less popular than Urdu feature films. About 34% of respondents reported watching television programmes and films in Urdu regularly, about 53% watch such programmes occasionally and 13% do not watch at all. (Table 35)

5.3.3 Hindi

Since the Urdu and Hindi languages are more or less equivalent as far as most feature films are concerned, respondents

TABLE 35

	Regularly	Occasionally	Never
Males			
A1	32.20	64.41	3.39
A2	21.62	62.16	16.22
A3	15.00	55.00	30.00
Females			
A1	53.62	43.48	2.90
A2	—	50.00	50.00
A3	12.50	—	87.50
Males and Females			
A1	43.76	53.12	3.12
A2	17.78	60.00	22.22
A3	14.44	39.28	46.28
Total	33.83	52.74	13.43

hardly have a basis for making a choice between Urdu and Hindi. In some of the television programmes (such as news, talks and plays etc.) a distinction in the two is maintained by employment of a Persianized style (in the case of Urdu) or a Sanskritized style (in the case of Hindi). The difference in responses may be due to differing attitude of the respondents towards a particular language or speech style. About 23% of respondents reported that they watch Hindi television programmes or films regularly; about 44% watch them occasionally and 33% do not watch such television programmes or films at all. (Table 36)

5.3.4 English

Television programmes in English, or English feature films, are watched only by highly educated respondents. About 20% of the respondents reported watching such programmes and films regularly, 53% of the respondents watch them occasionally, and 27% of the respondents never watch such programmes or films. (Table 37)

TABLE 36

	Regularly	Occasionally	Never
Males			
A1	30.51	50.85	18.64
A2	18.92	45.95	35.13
A3	5.00	60.00	35.00
Females			
A1	30.44	36.23	33.33
A2	—	50.00	50.00
A3	—	—	100.00
Males and Females			
A1	30.47	42.97	26.56
A2	15.55	46.67	37.78
A3	3.57	42.86	53.57
Total	23.38	43.78	32.84

TABLE 37

	Regularly	Occasionally	Never
Males			
A1	13.56	72.88	13.56
A2	13.51	45.95	40.54
A3	—	45.00	55.00
Females			
A1	40.58	53.62	5.80
A2	—	—	100.00
A3	—	—	100.00
Males and Females			
A1	28.13	62.50	9.37
A2	11.11	37.78	51.11
A3	—	32.14	67.86
Total	20.40	52.73	26.87

6

Language Preferences

A number of questions were designed for eliciting information regarding language preference in different domains of public interest.

6.1 Language as Medium of Instruction

An important question was asked concerning the preference of language as a medium of instruction at various levels of formal education—primary, middle, high and college/university level. The results were quite interesting.

6.1.1 primary

The results show a clear preference for the use of Kashmiri at the primary level of education. A total number of about 83% repondents favours the use of Kashmiri as the medium of instruction at the primary level; 9% favour Urdu, 5% Hindi, and 3% English.

TABLE 39

	Kashmiri	Urdu	Hindi	English
Males				
A1	81.36	13.56	3.39	1.69
A2	83.78	5.41	—	10.81
A3	80.00	15.00	5.00	—
Females				
A1	79.71	7.25	10.14	2.90
A2	100.00	—	—	—
A3	100.00	—	—	—
Males and Females				
A1	80.47	10.16	7.03	2.34
A2	86.67	4.44	—	8.89
A3	85.71	10.72	3.57	—
Total	82.59	8.96	4.97	3.48

TABLE 40

	Kashmiri	Urdu	Hindi	English
Males				
A1	38.98	52.54	6.78	1.70
A2	59.46	28.73	3.70	8.11
A3	95.00	5.00	—	—
Females				
A1	26.09	43.58	24.64	5.69
A2	87.50	12.50	—	—
A3	100.00	—	—	—
Males and Females				
A1	32.54	46.83	16.67	3.96
A2	64.44	26.67	2.22	6.67
A3	96.43	—	—	3.57
Total	48.26	35.32	11.94	4.48

6.1.2 Middle

A total number of 48% of respondents favoured the use of Kashmiri, 35% favoured Urdu, 11% favoured Hindi and 5% English, as the languages to be used as the medium of instruction at the middle level of schooling. (Table 40)

6.1.3 High

About 49% of total respondents favoured the use of English; 24% Kashmiri; and 7% Hindi as the languages for the medium of instruction at the high or higher secondary school level.

TABLE 41

	Kashmiri	Urdu	Hindi	English
Males				
A1	40.67	10.17	5.08	44.08
A2	16.22	27.03	8.10	48.65
A3	10.00	45.00	10.00	35.00
Females				
A1	14.49	13.04	5.80	66.67
A2	37.50	37.50	12.50	12.50
A3	37.50	37.50	25.00	—
Males and Females				
A1	26.56	16.79	—	56.65
A2	20.00	28.89	8.89	42.22
A3	17.86	42.86	14.28	25.00
Total	23.88	19.90	7.46	48.76

6.1.4 College/University

At the college/university level, A majority of respondents (71%) favoured the use of English, 18% favoured Urdu, 9% Kashmiri and 2% Hindi as the languages to be used as the medium of instruction.

TABLE 42

	Kashmiri	Urdu	Hindi	English
Males				
A1	8.47	18.65	—	72.88
A2	8.11	10.81	2.70	78.38
A3	5.00	20.00	5.00	70.00
Females				
A1	11.59	14.49	4.36	69.56
A2	12.50	50.00	—	37.50
A3	—	37.50	—	62.50
Males and Females				
A1	10.15	16.40	2.34	71.11
A2	8.89	17.78	2.22	71.11
A3	3.57	25.00	3.57	67.86
Total	8.95	17.93	2.48	70.64

It may be seen that most of the respondents preferred the mother tongue as the medium of instruction at the primary and middle levels of education, but the preference for this language at the high school and college/university levels declines. Most of the respondents favour English at these levels. English is preferred at the higher levels of education because it facilitates the students' pursuit of their higher studies in a medium which is used in other regions as well in higher education in India.

The respondents were asked what language would they like to be mainly used for (a) street signs, (b) routine forms, (c) in local daily newspapers (d) in government offices (e) in government correspondence within Kashmir (f) in law courts at the lower level, (g) in law courts at the higher level, (h) for official addresses by government officers and (i) in documentary films.

6.2 Language preferred for street signs

The current practice is to write street signs in Urdu (and English). Although both Urdu and Kashmiri are written n the Perso-Arabic script, Kashmiri has adopted some additional diacritical marks which represent the actual sound system of the language. Street signs written in Urdu represent Urduised or anglicised names of the streets which are actually deviant from their actual Kashmiri names or pronunciation. It seems that people favour representation of their actual pronunciation in written form; as they mostly endorse the use of Kashmiri for writing these street signs. A total number of 66% of respondents prefer that these signs be written in Kashmiri, 16% favour Urdu, 12% English and 5% Hindi. The respondents have expressed a clear preference for Kashmiri, probably because they realise that if the street signs were written in Kashmiri they would be more accurate.

TABLE 43

	Kashmiri	Urdu	Hindi	English
Males				
A1	74.58	11.86	—	13.56
A2	70.28	18.92	5.40	5.40
A3	80.00	15.00	5.00	—
Females				
A1	44.93	23.19	10.14	21.74
A2	100.00	—	—	—
A3	100.00	—	—	—
Males and Females				
A1	58.59	17.97	5.47	17.97
A2	75.56	15.56	4.44	4.44
A3	85.72	10.71	3.57	—
Total	66.17	16.42	4.97	12.44

6.3 Language preferred for use for routine forms

A majority of respondents (65%) have reported their preference for the use of Kashmiri in routine forms of various kinds. 18% are in favour of Urdu, 12% for English and 5% for Hindi. This preference probably shows their interest in its functional value. It is believed that even a less educated person will not have difficulty in understanding, reading and in filling up such forms, and will not have to depend on translations.

TABLE 44

	Kashmiri	Urdu	Hindi	English
Males				
A1	74.58	15.25	—	10.17
A2	70.28	18.92	5.40	5.40
A3	75.00	20.00	—	5.00
Females				
A1	43.48	24.64	11 59	20.29
A2	100.00	—	—	—
A3	100.00	—	—	—
Males and Females				
A1	:7.81	20.31	6.25	15.63
A2	75.56	15.56	4.44	4.44
A3	82.14	14.29	—	3.57
Total	65.17	18.41	4.98	11.44

6.4 Language preferred for use in daily newspapers

As indicated above no daily newspapers are published in Kashmiri and everyone has to depend on local Urdu newspapers and other national newspapers published outside the State. Local newspapers usually have an important role in any region or state for providing local news in detail. Though no

Kashmiri daily newspapers are published currently, it is worth noting that 47% of respondents have reported their preference for local daily newspapers in Kashmiri, 39% of respondents favour Urdu, 8% English and 6% Hindi. It would appear that if local daily newspapers are published in Kashmiri, they will be popular. Even some illiterate respondents favoured publication of local newspapers in Kashmiri.

TABLE 45

	Kashmiri	Urdu	Hindi	English
Males				
A1	42.37	49.15	—	8.48
A2	70.27	16.23	8.10	5.40
A3	60.00	30.00	5.00	5.00
Females				
A1	21.74	55.08	11.59	11.59
A2	100.00	—	—	—
A3	100.00	—	—	—
Males and Females				
A1	31.25	52.34	6.25	10.16
A2	75.56	13.33	6.67	4.44
A3	71.43	21.43	3.57	3.57
Total	46.77	39.30	5.97	7.96

6.5 Language preferred for use in local government offices

A good number of respondents (40%) have reported a preference for the use of Kashmiri as the language in local government offices for all transactions. The current official language i.e Urdu is favoured by 29%, English is favoured by 27%, and Hindi by 4%. English is favoured mainly for its wider usefulness

in communicating among the government offices of different regions in the State and outside the State. All the illiterates in the sample also reported their preference for Kashmiri.

TABLE 46

	Kashmiri	Urdu	Hindi	English
Males				
A1	30.51	43.47	3.39	22.63
A2	51.35	21.62	10.81	16.22
A3	60.00	35.00	—	5.00
Females				
A1	21.74	26.09	2.90	49.27
A2	100.00	—	—	—
A3	100.00	—	—	—
Males and Females				
A1	25.78	34.38	3.13	36.71
A2	60.00	17.78	8.89	13.33
A3	71.43	25.00	—	3.57
Total	39.80	29.35	3.98	26.87

6.6 Language preferred for use in government correspondence within Kashmir

In a situation where government correspondence is to be made within the State (largely within the valley), there is wider preference for the use of Kashmiri than other languages such as Urdu and English. About 52% of respondents favour Kashmiri, 28% Urdu, 17% English and 3% Hindi as the language of official or government correspondence within the valley of Kashmir.

TABLE 47

	Kashmiri	Urdu	Hindi	English
Males				
A1	45.77	25.42	—	28.81
A2	59.46	27.03	5.40	8.11
H3	60.00	40.00	—	—
Females				
A1	40.58	33.33	4.35	21.74
A2	100.00	—	—	—
A3	100.00	—	—	—
Males and Females				
A1	42.97	29.69	2.34	25.00
A2	67.67	21.11	4.45	6.67
A3	71.23	28.77	—	—
Total	52.24	27.86	2.49	17.41

6.7 Language preferred for use in the law courts at the lower level

It is strongly felt that the native language must be used as the language of law courts at the lower level in order to provide justice to the common man. A good majority of respondents (56%) favour the use of Kashmiri as the language of law courts at lower level; 35% respondents favour the continuation of Urdu, 6% favour English and 3% Hindi. (Table 48)

6.8 Language preferred for use in law courts at the higher level

In comparison to the preference reported for the use of Kashmiri in the law courts of lower level, a smallar percentage of respondents (9%) favoured the use of Kashmiri in the law courts of higher level in the State. 33% of respondents favour English, being the language of wider communicability, 25% favour Urdu and 3% Hindi. (Table 49)

TABLE 48

	Kashmiri	Urdu	Hindi	English
Males				
A1	47.46	42.37	—	10.17
A2	75.68	18.92	2.70	2.70
A3	75.00	20.00	5.00	—
Females				
A1	37.69	49.26	4.35	8.70
A2	100.00	—	—	—
A3	100.00	—	—	—
Males and Females				
A1	42.19	46.09	2.34	9.38
A2	80.00	15.56	2.22	2.22
A3	82.14	14.29	3.57	—
Total	56.21	34.83	2.49	6.47

TABLE 49

	Kashmiri	Urdu	Hindi	English
Males				
A1	20.34	44.07	1.69	33.90
A2	59.46	10.81	5.41	24.32
A3	55.00	20.00	10.00	15.00
Females				
A1	24.64	23.19	1.45	50.72
A2	100.00	—	—	—
A3	100.00	—	—	—
Males and Females				
A1	22.66	32.81	1.56	42.97
A2	66.67	8.89	4.44	20.00
A3	67.86	14.29	7.14	10.71
Total	38.80	24.88	2.99	33.33

6.9 Language preferred for use for official addresses by government officers

Nearly half the respondents favour the use of Kashmiri and the remainder favour English, Urdu and Hindi, but none of these predominantly, as the language for the use of official addresses by government officers. It is only through one's mother tongue that a clear communication can be made, and there is no risk of the speakers being misunderstood by their audience. 100% of illiterates naturally favour the use of their mother tongue in such communications. 48% of respondents have reported their preference for the use of Kashmiri, 28% for English, 20% for Urdu and 4% for Hindi. It is amazing to note a wide preference for English. English has relevance only whenever there are inter-state communications or addresses to be made by the government officers. In local conditions there will be more communication barriers if English is preferred over Urdu.

TABLE 50

	Kashmiri	Urdu	Hindi	English
Males				
A1	32.20	28.81	5.09	33.90
A2	72.97	10.81	—	16.22
A3	80.00	10.00	10.00	—
Females				
A1	27.54	24.64	2.89	44.93
A2	100.00	—	—	—
A3	100.00	—	—	—
Males and Females				
A1	29.62	26.56	3.98	39.84
A2	77.78	8.89	—	13.33
A3	85.72	7.14	7.14	—
Total	48.26	19.90	3.48	28.36

6.10 Language preferred for use in documentary films

Documentary films generally have a theme of general interest and their main purpose is to communicate with the audience. In case the objective of a documentary film is use of this medium for educating people on various themes, it would be appropriate to use their native language for greatest effectiveness. A large percentage of respondents (65%) have reported preference for the use of Kashmiri as the language of documentary films which are aimed at them. 26% of the respondents favour the use of Urdu as being more useful in communication throughout different regions of the State. 6% favour Hindi and 3% English.

TABLE 51

	Kashmiri	Urdu	Hindi	English
Males				
A1	49.15	35.59	10.17	5.09
A2	91.89	5.41	2.70	—
A3	85.00	10.00	5.00	—
Eemales				
A1	49.28	40.57	5.80	4.35
A2	100.00	—	—	—
A3	100.00	—	—	—
Males and Females				
A1	49.22	38.28	7.81	4.69
A2	93.33	4.45	2.22	—
A3	89.29	7.14	3.57	—
Total	64.68	26.37	5.97	2.98

7

Viability of Kashmiri

In response to the question whether the respondents consider that Kashmiri has a viable future or not, mixed reactions were reported by the respondents. Out of a total number of 201 informants only 157 of them responded to this question. Out of these, it was amazing to note that 117 respondents considered that Kashmiri has a viable future and they gave various reasons in support of it. The main reasons were that (1) Kashmiri has a very long literary tradition and it has produced a large number of great poets and writers; (2) it is recognised as one of the 15 major languages in the constitution of India and has every right to flourish; (3) it has now recently been introduced as a subject of study at the post-graduate level by the University of Kashmir and attempts are being made to introduce it in colleges and schools also.

The other forty respondents did not see the future of

Kashmiri as viable for various reasons. Most of them were critical of the government's policy and said the government was not at all interested in the development of Kashmiri which has not been given its due place in education, mass media and administration. Some felt that unless it is taught as a compulsory subject in schools, it cannot have any viable future. Some considered Kashmiri to be 'only a dialect' or claimed that it is not fully developed as a language, and has 'an incomplete grammar'. Some remarked that it has not yet solved problems of its script. It appears that it is only keeping in view the present roles of Kashmiri in its home state, such remarks were made by respondents. It also showed the ignorance on the part of these respondents about the linguistic criteria for evaluating roles of a particular language.

Almost all the respondents who responded to the previous question on the viability of the future of Kashmiri offered some remarks in response to the last question in the questionnaire. Most of the respondents strongly expressed their views that Kashmiri must be introduced as a compulsory subject in all the schools. It must be taught right from the primary to the post-graduate level in the valley of Kashmir. Not only should it be taught as a compulsory subject in schools, it should also be used as the medium of instruction in schools. They Stronly felt a child can get a proper grasp of the basic fundamentals of knowledge only through his mother tongue. A number of respondents remarked that Kashmiri is the only language which can keep their 'group identity' alive and efforts must be made to give all the basic roles to Kashmiri in education, mass-media and administration which have been denied to it.

8

Conclusions

In Kashmir, to be literate means to be bilingual. In spite of the recognition of Kashmiri as one of the fifteen major languages of India, most Kashmiris receive their education in Urdu and English. 90% of respondents who reported being able to read and write Kashmiri, were also able to read and write Urdu. An even larger number—95% was able to read and write English.

As expected, Kashmiri is overwhelmingly the language of personal and in-group communications. It is the medium of dreams, mental arithmetic and reflection; of communication within the family, with friends, and in the market place. Even the language of prayer is Kashmiri—86% said they used it in saying their prayers, and 78% said it was used in the place of worship (which is to say that although the ritual languages are Arabic and Sanskrit for Muslims and Hindus respectively, the functional spoken language is Kashmiri).

It is in the domain of written communication that the essential anomaly of the situation becomes apparent. In writing letters to close relatives with whom they would normally speak Kashmiri, only 10% of the respondents write in that language. Slightly over half write in Urdu or Hindi, and 39% write in English. In fact, only 11% of the respondents who reported literacy actually *use* the language in this most mundane of written communications. Thus the functional role of Kashmiri as a written language hardly exists. The percentages for language use in correspondence with intimate friends remain roughly the same; but in business and professional correspondence the use of English increases to 49%. The real languages of literacy in Kashmir are Urdu, English and Hindi.

These languages also have major roles in the place of work or study. 65% reported that conversations there take place in Urdu, English or Hindi. However if the context involves discussion of problems, or a meeting (which is also an occasion to discuss problems), the use of Kashmiri increases to 75% and 53% respectively. As the mother-tongue is the language in which a person organizes his experience and environment, it is par excellence the language of problem-solving. The written records of the meeting, of course, are kept in Urdu, English or Hindi.

Preferences for languages used in the media reflect the discrepant positions of Kashmiri as a spoken and a written language. The irregularly published Kashmiri newspapers do not attract a large audience—only 40% of respondents read them (and only 9% read them regularly). On the other hand, 74% of the respondents read Urdu newspapers, and 82% read English newspapers. But radio listening habits tell a different story. 99% of respondents listen at least occasionally to feature programmes broadcast in Kashmiri, and 80% listen to Kashmiri news programmes regularly. (Urdu-Hindi songs are also quite popular, as they are elsewhere), Radio is an audio medium, as opposed to newspapers, which are a written medium, so again we see the weaker role of Kashmiri as a written language.

In visual media, television is the only option for people who want to watch any kind of Kashmiri film. Kashmiri progra-

mmes are slightly more popular (97% watch at least occasionally) than Urdu programmes (87%).

Urdu and English do have importance in Kashmir as link languages. This becomes clear from the answers to questions about language preferences. For the medium of instruction in primary schools, 83% would favour Kashmiri. This is understandable in view of the fact that basic literacy and computational skills are far easier to acquire in one's mother tongue than in a second language. But when the respondents were asked about higher levels of education, the preference changed, with the number of those favouring Kashmiri decreasing to 48% at the middle school level and to only 24% at the high school level. The preference for Urdu increases : 35% favour it at the middle school level. At the higher levels the majority prefers English (49% at the high school level and 71% at college/university level. This reflects the reality that for almost all business and professions, a knowledge of one or both languages is essential.

People would prefer Kashmiri to be used in street signs (66%), lower courts (56%), government correspondence inside Kashmir (52%), and documentary films (65%). For newspapers, higher courts, government correspondence outside Kashmir they favour other languages, predominantly Urdu.

Regarding the future of Kashmiri, there was a mixed response. Some considered Kashmiri to be only 'a dialect', or claimed that it is not 'fully developed as a language'—that it has 'incomplete grammar'. They questioned the viability of its future, or consider its future only viable within Kashmir.

Other respondents pointed to Kashmiri's literary history, and observe that it is the only language in which a Kashmiri-speaking child can get a proper grasp of basic fundamentals, or achieve and express his real identity. The theme of identity came up over and over again, both in comments written on the questionnaires and in verbal remarks made to the investigator. The respondents seemed to feel that their language was an integral part of their identity; and that their identity could not develop fully under conditions where the Kashmiri language was not accorded its proper status.

To summarize : while the results of the survey show general recognition of the carrier or link status of Urdu, Kashmiri retains its essential roles in the personal, domestic, economic, cultural and personal arenas. Urdu (and sometimes English) is used mainly for education, official business, and for correspondence of all sorts. Many people feel that Kashmiri has been deprived of its proper status. And finally, the promotion of Urdu has *already* been successful (as seen from the data for respondents under the age of 35—the generation that has always lived with Urdu). In voicing their preferences, the respondents are saying that it is now the turn of Kashmiri, as well.

Questionnaire

1. Name..............
2. Place of birth........... District….. ………
3. Sex : Male……… Female………
4. Age : 18-34……… 35-50… Above 50…
5. Religion : Muslims…… Hindu…… Other……
6. Education : Illiterate…… Primary…… Middle……
   Hr. Sec… Graduate… Post Graduate…
7. Occupation : Student…… Teacher…… Cultivator….
   Office-goer… Businessman…Other(Specify)…
8. Mother-tongue..............
9. What languages do you know and how well can you understand, speak, read and write ?

Languages

	Understand		Speak		Read		Write	
	a little	quite well	a little	quite well	a little	quite well	a little	quite well
1. ……	…	…	…	…	…	…	…	…
2. ……	…	…	…	…	…	…	…	…
3. ……	…	…	…	…	…	…	…	…
4. ……	…	…	…	…	…	…	…	…

10. Where did you learn them ?

Languages	Home	Market place	School	Office	Other
1.	...	...	...	...	...
2.	...	...	...	...	...
3.	...	...	...	...	...

11. What language do/did your parents speak ?
    Father............ Mother............
12. If married, spouse's mother tongue : ....
13. To what medium school did/do you send your children ?
14. Which language do you mostly use in the following situations :

Situations	Language
a. Talking to your parents/elders ?	....
b. Talking to your spouse ?	....
c. Talking to your friends ?	....
d. Talking to your children/youngsters ?	....
e. In local market place ?	....
f. In your place of work/study ?	....
g. Writing a letter to your nearest relative ?	....
h. Writing a letter to your intimate friend ?	....
i. Writing a letter in course of your work or in connection with studies ?	....
j. Doing arithmetic (or calculations) ?	....
k. Discussing a problem at your place of work and study ?	....
l. While saying your prayers ?	....
m. In a meeting at your place of work ?	....
n. While dreaming ?	....
o. While thinking about routine problems ?	....

15. How often do you read newspapers in various languages ?

	Regularly	Occasionally	Never
Kashmiri	....	....	....
Urdu	....	....	....
Hindi	....	....	....
English	....	....	....

16. How often do you listen to radio programmes in various languages ?

	Programme	Regularly	Occasionally	Never
Kashmiri	News	...	...	...

	Songs	...	...	...
	Other Progs.	...	...	...
Urdu/Hindi	News	...	...	...
	Songs	...	...	...
	Other Progs.	...	...	...

17. How often do you watch T.V. programmes and films in various languages ?

	Regularly	Occasionally	Never
Kashmiri	......	......	......
Urdu	......	......	......
Hindi	......	......	......
English	......	......	......

18. What language is used in the place of worship, or in addresses on religious subjects ? ...
19. What language is mainly used in the marriage ceremony ? ....
20. What language is mainly used by the government officers in talking to you on public occasions ? ....
21. What language would you like to be used :

    As a medium of instruction at various levels ?

    Primary : ....

    Middle : ....

    High : ....

    College/University : ....
22. What language would you like to be mainly used
    - a. for street signs ? ....
    - b. for routine forms ? ....
    - c. in daily local newspapers ? ....
    - d. in the government offices ? ....
    - e. in government correspondence within Kashmir ? ....
    - f. in law courts at the lower level ? ....
    - g. in law courts at the higher level ? ....
    - h. for official addresses by government officers ? ....
    - i. in documentary films ? ....
23. Do you think Kashmiri has viable future among the languages of India ? Give reasons :
24. Any other remarks on the use of Kashmiri in Kashmir :
25. Remarks of investigator :